

For Six Month Period Ending 5/31
June 30, 2008
(Insert date)

I - REGISTRANT

1. (a) Name of Registrant
American Business Development Group

(b) Registration No.
5810

(c) Business Address(es) of Registrant
2800 Shirlington Rd.
Suite 401
Arlington, VA 22206

2. Has there been a change in the information previously furnished in connection with the following:

- (a) If an individual:
- | | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| (1) Residence address(es) | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) Citizenship | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) Occupation | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
- (b) If an organization:
- | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| (1) Name | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) Ownership or control | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) Branch offices | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
- (c) Explain fully all changes, if any, indicated in items (a) and (b) above.

2008 JUN 30 AM 11:39
CRM/ISS/REGISTRATION UNIT

IF THE REGISTRANT IS AN INDIVIDUAL, OMIT RESPONSE TO ITEMS 3, 4 AND 5(a).

3. If you have previously filed Exhibit C¹, state whether any changes therein have occurred during this 6 month reporting period.

Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, have you filed an amendment to the Exhibit C? Yes ☐ No ☐

If no, please attach the required amendment.

¹ The Exhibit C, for which no printed form is provided, consists of a true copy of the charter, articles of incorporation, association, and by laws of a registrant that is an organization. (A waiver of the requirement to file an Exhibit C may be obtained for good cause upon written application to the Assistant Attorney General, National Security Division, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, DC 20530.)

-
4. (a) Have any persons ceased acting as partners, officers, directors or similar officials of the registrant during this 6 month reporting period? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name	Position	Date connection ended
------	----------	-----------------------

- (b) Have any persons become partners, officers, directors or similar officials during this 6 month reporting period? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name	Residence address	Citizenship	Position	Date assumed
------	----------------------	-------------	----------	-----------------

-
5. (a) Has any person named in item 4(b) rendered services directly in furtherance of the interests of any foreign principal? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, identify each such person and describe his service.

- (b) Have any employees or individuals, who have filed a short form registration statement, terminated their employment or connection with the registrant during this 6 month reporting period? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name	Position or connection	Date terminated
------	------------------------	-----------------

- (c) During this 6 month reporting period, has the registrant hired as employees or in any other capacity, any persons who rendered or will render services to the registrant directly in furtherance of the interests of any foreign principal(s) in other than a clerical or secretarial, or in a related or similar capacity? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name	Residence address	Citizenship	Position	Date assumed
------	----------------------	-------------	----------	-----------------

-
6. Have short form registration statements been filed by all of the persons named in Items 5(a) and 5(c) of the supplemental statement? Yes ☐ No ☒

If no, list names of persons who have not filed the required statement.

II - FOREIGN PRINCIPAL

7. Has your connection with any foreign principal ended during this 6 month reporting period?

Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name of foreign principal

Date of termination

8. Have you acquired any new foreign principal² during this 6 month reporting period?

Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name and address of foreign principal

Date acquired

9. In addition to those named in Items 7 and 8, if any, list foreign principals² whom you continued to represent during the 6 month reporting period.

Kurdistan Regional Government

10. **EXHIBITS A AND B**

(a) Have you filed for each of the newly acquired foreign principals in Item 8 the following:

Exhibit A ³	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
Exhibit B ⁴	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>

If no, please attach the required exhibit.

(b) Have there been any changes in the Exhibits A and B previously filed for any foreign principal whom you represented during the 6 month period? Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes, have you filed an amendment to these exhibits? Yes ☐ No ☐

If no, please attach the required amendment.

² The term "foreign principal" includes, in addition to those defined in Section 1(b) of the Act, an individual organization any of whose activities are directly or indirectly supervised, directed, controlled, financed, or subsidized in whole or in major part by a foreign government, foreign political party, foreign organization or foreign individual. (See Rule 100(a) (9).) A registrant who represents more than one foreign principal is required to list in the statements he files under the Act only those principals for whom he is not entitled to claim exemption under Section 3 of the Act. (See Rule 208.)

³ The Exhibit A, which is filed on Form NSD-3 (Formerly CRM-157), sets forth the information required to be disclosed concerning each foreign principal.

⁴ The Exhibit B, which is filed on Form NSD-4 (Formerly CRM-155), sets forth the information concerning the agreement or understanding between the registrant and the foreign principal.

III - ACTIVITIES

-
11. During this 6 month reporting period, have you engaged in any activities for or rendered any services to any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, and 9 of this statement? Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail your activities and services:

Kurdistan Regional Government: Communicated and facilitated meetings for foreign principal with Members of Congress and Congressional staff as well as Executive Branch agencies; specifically the Departments of Defense and Commerce.

-
12. During this 6 month reporting period, have you on behalf of any foreign principal engaged in political activity⁵ as defined below? Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail all such political activity, indicating, among other things, the relations, interests and policies sought to be influenced and the means employed to achieve this purpose. If the registrant arranged, sponsored or delivered speeches, lectures or radio and TV broadcasts, give details as to dates and places of delivery, names of speakers and subject matter.

1. Organized fundraising breakfast for Congressman Mark Kirk on June 19, 2008.

2. Organized breakfast honoring the Prime Minister of the Kurdistan Regional Government at the US Chamber of Commerce attended by US leaders and officials of the Department of State and the US Chamber of Commerce.

-
13. In addition to the above described activities, if any, have you engaged in activity on your own behalf which benefits any or all of your foreign principals? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, describe fully.

⁵ The term "political activities" means any activity that the person engaging in believes will, or that the person intends to, in any way influence any agency or official of the Government of the United States or any section of the public within the United States with reference to formulating, adopting or changing the domestic or foreign policies of the United States or with reference to the political or public interests, policies, or relations of a government of a foreign country or a foreign political party.

IV - FINANCIAL INFORMATION

14. (a) RECEIPTS - MONIES

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received from any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal, any contributions, income or money either as compensation or otherwise? Yes ☒ No ☐

If no, explain why.

If yes, set forth below in the required detail and separately for each foreign principal an account of such monies⁶.

Date	From whom	Purpose	Amount
Jan - June 2008	Kurdistan Regional Government	Monthly retainer of \$10,000/month	\$60,000
March- June 2008	Kurdistan Regional Government	Efforts to assist the KRG in establishing an American-Kurdish business development organization	\$24,000

\$84,000

Total

(b) RECEIPTS - FUND RAISING CAMPAIGN

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received, as part of a fund raising campaign⁷, any money on behalf of any foreign principal named in items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, have you filed an Exhibit D⁸ to your registration? Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes, indicate the date the Exhibit D was filed. Date _____

(c) RECEIPTS - THINGS OF VALUE

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received any thing of value⁹ other than money from any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal?

Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name of foreign principal	Date received	Description of thing of value	Purpose
------------------------------	------------------	----------------------------------	---------

^{6, 7} A registrant is required to file an Exhibit D if he collects or receives contributions, loans, money, or other things of value for a foreign principal, as part of a fund raising campaign. (See Rule 201(e).)

⁸ An Exhibit D, for which no printed form is provided, sets forth an account of money collected or received as a result of a fund raising campaign and transmitted for a foreign principal.

⁹ Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks," and the like.

15. (a) DISBURSEMENTS – MONIES

During this 6 month reporting period, have you

(1) disbursed or expended monies in connection with activity on behalf of any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement? Yes ☒ No ☐

(2) transmitted monies to any such foreign principal? Yes ☐ No ☒

If no, explain in full detail why there were no disbursements made on behalf of any foreign principal.

If yes, set forth below in the required detail and separately for each foreign principal an account of such monies, including monies transmitted, if any, to each foreign principal.

Date	To whom	Purpose	Amount
1/31/08	Ayal Frank	Consulting Services	\$10,000
2/28/08	Ayal Frank	Consulting Services	\$12,500
3/31/08	Ayal Frank	Consulting Services	\$13,000
4/30/08	Ayal Frank	Consulting Services	\$13,000
5/31/08	Ayal Frank	Consulting Services	\$13,000
6/30/08	Ayal Frank	Consulting Services	\$13,000

\$74,500

Total

(b) DISBURSEMENTS – THINGS OF VALUE

During this 6 month reporting period, have you disposed of anything of value¹⁰ other than money in furtherance of or in connection with activities on behalf of any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement?

Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, furnish the following information:

Date disposed	Name of person to whom given	On behalf of what foreign principal	Description of thing of value	Purpose
---------------	------------------------------	-------------------------------------	-------------------------------	---------

(c) DISBURSEMENTS – POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

During this 6 month reporting period, have you from your own funds and on your own behalf either directly or through any other person, made any contributions of money or other things of value¹¹ in connection with an election to any political office, or in connection with any primary election, convention, or caucus held to select candidates for political office?

Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, furnish the following information:

Date	Amount or thing of value	Name of political organization	Name of candidate
Mr. Skipper: March 13, 2008	\$250	Joe Knollenberg for Congress	Congressman Joe Knollenberg
May 8, 2008	\$1500	Candice Miller for Congress	Congresswoman Candice Miller
May 15, 2008	\$500	Sam Farr for Congress	Congressman Sam Farr
June 15	\$5,000	National Republican Congressional Committee	
Mr. Demetriades: March 13, 2008	\$250	Joe Knollenberg for Congress	Congressman Joe Knollenberg
May 15, 2008	\$500	Sam Farr for Congress	Congressman Sam Farr

^{10, 11} Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks" and the like.

V - INFORMATIONAL MATERIALS

16. During this 6 month reporting period, did you prepare, disseminate or cause to be disseminated any informational materials¹²?
 Yes ☒ No ☐

IF YES, RESPOND TO THE REMAINING ITEMS IN SECTION V.

17. Identify each such foreign principal.

Kurdistan Regional Government

18. During this 6 month reporting period, has any foreign principal established a budget or allocated a specified sum of money to finance your activities in preparing or disseminating informational materials? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, identify each such foreign principal, specify amount, and indicate for what period of time.

19. During this 6 month reporting period, did your activities in preparing, disseminating or causing the dissemination of informational materials include the use of any of the following:

- | | | | |
|---|--|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Radio or TV broadcasts | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Magazine or newspaper articles | <input type="checkbox"/> Motion picture films | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Letters or telegrams |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Advertising campaigns | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Press releases | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pamphlets or other publications | <input type="checkbox"/> Lectures or speeches |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Internet | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) _____ | | |

20. During this 6 month reporting period, did you disseminate or cause to be disseminated informational materials among any of the following groups:

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Public officials | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Newspapers | <input type="checkbox"/> Libraries |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Legislators | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Editors | <input type="checkbox"/> Educational institutions |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Government agencies | <input type="checkbox"/> Civic groups or associations | <input type="checkbox"/> Nationality groups |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) _____ | | |

21. What language was used in the informational materials:

- ☒ English ☐ Other (specify) _____

22. Did you file with the Registration Unit, U.S. Department of Justice a copy of each item of such informational materials disseminated or caused to be disseminated during this 6 month reporting period? Yes ☒ No ☐

23. Did you label each item of such informational materials with the statement required by Section 4(b) of the Act? Yes ☒ No ☐

¹² The term informational materials includes any oral, visual, graphic, written, or pictorial information or matter of any kind, including that published by means of advertising, books, periodicals, newspapers, lectures, broadcasts, motion pictures, or any means or instrumentality of interstate or foreign commerce or otherwise. Informational materials disseminated by an agent of a foreign principal as part of an activity in-itself exempt from registration; or an activity which by itself would not require registration, need not be filed pursuant to Section 4(b) of the Act.

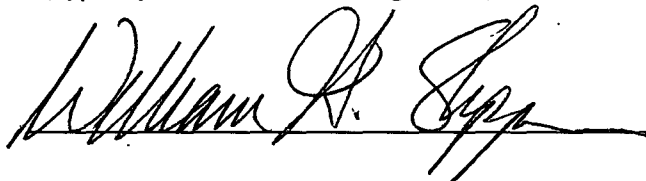
VI – EXECUTION

In accordance with 28 U.S.C. §1746, the undersigned swear(s) or affirm(s) under penalty of perjury that he/she has (they have) read the information set forth in this registration statement and the attached exhibits and that he/she is (they are) familiar with the contents thereof and that such contents are in their entirety true and accurate to the best of his/her (their) knowledge and belief, except that the undersigned make(s) no representation as to the truth or accuracy of the information contained in the attached Short Form Registration Statement(s), if any, insofar as such information is not within his/her (their) personal knowledge.

(Date of signature)

(Type or print name under each signature¹³)

June 30, 2008



William H Skipper

¹³ This statement shall be signed by the individual agent, if the registrant is an individual, or by a majority of those partners, officers, directors or persons performing similar functions, if the registrant is an organization, except that the organization can, by power of attorney, authorize one or more individuals to execute this statement on its behalf.

Ayal Frank

From: Ayal Frank
Sent: Wednesday, June 18, 2008 2:57 PM
To: 'Chesley.Thurber@mail.house.gov'
Subject: Kurdish American Congressional Caucus
Attachments: KAC Dear Colleague.doc; Kurdish American Caucus Objections & Responses.doc; Kurdish Caucus talking points.doc

Dear Chesley - I thought that the congressman would be interested in knowing that a Kurdish American Caucus was established last month in the House of Representatives. See attached relevant information, for your and the congressman's review. To date, representatives Blackburn, Filner and Shays have joined the founding co-chairs, Lincoln Davis and Joe Wilson, as members. I stand ready to answer any questions about this important initiative. I'm hopeful that the congressman will join the caucus. Thank you. Best regards,
Ayal

Ayal Frank, Senior Consultant
American Business Development Group
Tel. 703-647-2977
Mobile 202-246-8163
Fax 703-824-0320
www.american-bdg.com

In accordance with the Foreign Agents Registration Act this material is distributed by the American Business Development Group on behalf of the Kurdistan Regional Government. Additional information is available at the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

2008 JUN 30 AM 11:39
CRM/ISS/REGISTRATION UNIT

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

KURDISH-AMERICAN CAUCUS INAUGURAL RECEPTION

Honored Guest:

Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani

Iraqi Kurdistan Regional Government

Wednesday, May 21st, 2008; 5:30pm – 6:30pm
Capitol Room HC-7

Dear Colleague:

Earlier this year, during separate trips, we visited the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. The visit to Erbil was refreshing and encouraging for both the United States and Iraq. We believe that the Kurdish Region is a beacon of stability and security in Iraq. Since the beginning of Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF), in 2003, not a single U.S. soldier or civilian contractor has been killed or kidnapped in the areas administered by the Iraqi Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG). Kurds practice a moderate form of Islam that shuns extremism. The people of Iraqi Kurdistan love the United States. They continue to embrace America as liberators. Iraqi Kurdish forces were our most valuable indigenous ally during OIF. A moderate, democratic and stable pro-American ally on the border between Iran, Turkey, and Syria offers both diplomatic opportunities and deterrent effects to regional conflict. The KRG has played, and will continue to play, a constructive role in reducing tensions with Turkey as well. The Kurdistan Region can be a buffer against international conflict. Indeed, it is also a vital ally in protecting U.S. national interests in Iraq and the region as a whole. The Kurdish Region of Iraq is a model of reconstruction success – the majority of villages razed by the regime of Saddam Hussein have been rebuilt; a liberal foreign investment law allows foreign land ownership, tax incentives and easy repatriation of profits, and there are five vibrant universities operating in the region, including the American University of Iraq, based in Suleimaniyah.

The United States should be known as a Nation that stands by her friends. We must ensure that U.S. policy reinforces the hard-earned success of Iraq's Kurds. It is for this reason that we will be forming the Kurdish American Congressional Caucus. This will help our own national interests in Iraq, and it will help our Kurdish friends as well. We hope you will join us as members of this important caucus.

We invite you to come meet Iraqi Kurdistan Regional Government Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani next week on Capitol Hill-- Wednesday, May 21st at 5:30pm in room HC-7 of the Capitol Building. He is an excellent young leader in the new Iraq and we

trust the meeting will provide you with important information concerning current events in the region.

For more information about the caucus and the reception for Prime Minister Barzani, please contact Matt Reel with Rep. Lincoln Davis at matt.reel@mail.house.gov or x56831; or Paul Callahan with Rep. Joe Wilson at paul.callahan@mail.house.gov or x52452.

Lincoln Davis (D-TN-04)
Co-Founder and Co-Chair
Kurdish-American Caucus

Joe Wilson (R-SC-02)
Co-Founder and Co-Chair
Kurdish-American Caucus

Why Congress Needs a Kurdish American Caucus

The Kurdish American Caucus would promote knowledge and understanding of the Kurds, a distinct group around the world. U.S. policy toward the Kurds is important to American relations with key allies in Turkey and Iraq as well as relations with Iran and Syria. The Kurdistan Region of Iraq is vital to an American vision of a peaceful and prosperous Iraq. While the Caucus would concern itself with Kurdish populations throughout the world, especially in the U.S., the key focus is the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, which is playing a pivotal role in the future of that nation.

Members of Congress should join the Kurdish American Caucus for three distinct reasons:

1. Kurdistan is a beacon of stability, security and prosperity in Iraq and the entire Middle East. We must ensure that U.S. policy reinforces the hard-earned success of Iraq's Kurds.

- The Kurdistan Region is a model for the rest of Iraq.
- Since the beginning of Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF), not a single U.S. soldier or civilian contractor has been killed or kidnapped in the areas administered by the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG).
- Kurds practice a moderate form of Islam that shuns extremism.
- The Kurdistan Region is a model of reconstruction success - more than 65% of the villages razed by Saddam have been rebuilt; a new liberal foreign investment law passed in 2006 allows foreign land ownership, tax incentives and easy repatriation of profits; there are five vibrant universities operating in the region today, including the American University of Iraq, based in Suleimaniyah.
- The KRG is a functioning democracy committed to establishing a federal, unified democratic system in Iraq.
- The KRG has fostered a climate of moderation and minority rights. In Iraqi Kurdistan, Kurds, Assyrians, Turkmen, Yazidis, Muslim and Christian are living side-by-side in harmony and tolerance.

2. Kurdistan is a vital ally in protecting U.S. national interests in Iraq and the region as a whole.

- The KRG has played, and can continue to play, a constructive role in reducing tensions with Turkey. Iraqi Kurdistan can be a buffer against international conflict.
- There are 30 million Kurds in the region (5 million in Iraq), which is the largest ethnic group in the world without a state. The U.S. must ensure that Iraqi Kurdistan becomes a force for peace.

- A moderate, democratic and stable pro-American ally on the border between Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and Syria offers both diplomatic opportunities and deterrent effects to regional conflict.
- Natural resources in the Kurdistan Region make it an attractive emerging market for American business.
- Kurdish Forces are a cohesive, effective and respected combat force. They were America's most valuable indigenous ally during OIF.

3. The people of Iraqi Kurdistan love the United States. They embrace America as liberators and are committed to a strong alliance with the U.S.

- About 55,000 Kurds live in the U.S. today.
- In a Middle East region torn by conflict and rampant anti-American sentiment, Iraqi Kurdistan is a haven of friendship for the U.S.
- Kurds are open to U.S. investment, ideas, security cooperation and diplomatic partnership.
- America should be known as a Nation that stands by her friends.
- A Congressional Kurdish American Caucus will help solidarity and influence for this friend and vital ally.

Answering Possible Objections to the Kurdish American Caucus

1. **Objection:** The Kurdish American Caucus (KAC) suggests Congressional support for Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) independence from Iraq at a time when the U.S. is trying to promote national unity and reduce tensions among Iraqi ethnic and sectarian groups.

Response: First, this is not an Iraqi Kurdish or KRG caucus. It is a **Kurdish American** caucus that seeks to promote understanding of Kurdish culture, history and issues important to the Kurdish community in the U.S. and elsewhere. Second, the caucus emphasizes the Kurdish commitment to a unified, Federal and democratic Iraq and the full participation of Kurds in the Iraqi government as stipulated in the Iraqi constitution. Third, the KRG is officially committed to a unified, Federal and democratic Iraq and has no ambition to become a separate state.

2. **Objection:** The caucus suggests Congressional support for an independent Kurdistan, which would incite tensions with our NATO ally, Turkey, as well as Syria and Iran, just as the U.S. is seeking to advance better relations between Turkey and the KRG.

Response: The caucus in absolutely no way advocates a greater Kurdistan. Indeed, the caucus by-laws do not endorse separatism at all. On the contrary, the by-laws call for respect for human rights for Kurdish minorities within recognized nations in which they live and explicitly express the Kurdish commitment to a unified, Federal Iraq. In fact, the caucus can be a vehicle for promoting the integration of Kurdish minorities where they live and encouraging this minority group to embrace the commitment to national unity as the KRG has done in Iraq.

3. **Objection:** The Kurdish caucus is unprecedented because it is based on ethnic identity rather than national identity.

Response: The House of Representative already has a Hellenic Caucus and an Asian Pacific American Caucus, which have ethnic and transnational purposes. The Kurdish American Caucus will pay special recognition to American Kurds in the U.S., their contributions both to this country and in Iraq, their friendship with the U.S. and the necessity to promote their rights as an ethnic minority in America.

4. **Objection:** The Kurdish caucus would, in effect, give unprecedented recognition and status to a regional sub-national government. This is a bad precedent that could embroil the U.S. Congress internal disputes between governments and groups.

Response: This is not a KRG caucus. It is an American caucus with a goal of assisting Kurds in the U.S. and in the Diaspora, not the policies of any government.

5. **Objection:** The Kurdish caucus is not justified based on the relatively small number of ethnic Kurds in the United States.

Response: The Kurdish population in America has not been fully documented. The estimated 50,000 Kurds who have made the U.S. their home deserve to be heard and given the respect they deserve. They are also representative of a people that numbers 30 million worldwide, which have suffered simply because of the language they speak and the culture they hold dear. This caucus will provide them a voice in the U.S. and will allow them the chance to live the American dream.

Ayal Frank

From: Ayal Frank
Sent: Tuesday, February 05, 2008 2:58 PM
Subject: "The Kurdish Front" - a Wall Street Journal op-ed

Dear House staff - I thought you would find this article of interest. Best, Ayal

 The Wall Street Journal

February 5, 2008

COMMENTARY**The Kurdish Front**

By **DAVID L. PHILLIPS**
 THE WALL STREET JOURNAL EUROPE
 February 5, 2008

Continued democratization and economic development is the best way for Turkey to drain the swamp of domestic support for the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK). A comprehensive solution also requires cooperation between Turkey and the Iraqi Kurdistan Regional Government, from whose territory the PKK operates. Instead, Turkey has gone for the military option, risking a regional conflagration that would destabilize Iraq.

After U.S. President George W. Bush agreed on Nov. 5 to provide actionable intelligence on the PKK to Ankara, Turkey launched a series of air strikes against targets in Iraqi Kurdistan. Though nearly 30 PKK members were killed in the first attack in December, subsequent sorties only struck some empty caves and abandoned settlements, inflicting little damage to the terrorists' infrastructure or capabilities.

The Iraqi Kurdish leadership -- Iraqi President Jalal Talabani and Massoud Barzani, president of the Iraqi Kurdistan Regional Government -- has reacted calmly. They are prepared to put up with an air strike or two if it helps mollify Turkish hard-liners and prevent a large-scale ground invasion. But their patience is not without limit. Fear is spreading among Iraqi Kurds, who demand a tougher response from their leaders. Turkish air strikes also endanger civilians nearby, and the regional Kurdish government may have to deal with refugees if the strikes continue.

There is also a growing outcry against the United States among Iraqi Kurds, who are among Washington's strongest allies in the country. They feel betrayed by America's complicity in Turkey's attacks. The U.S. sold out the Iraqi Kurds twice in recent history -- once in 1975 when the CIA ceased support for them, and then again during the U.S.-Iraq war in 1991, when Washington encouraged the Kurds to rebel against Saddam Hussein only to abandon them later when the Baath regime struck back. Iraqi Kurds fear history might be repeating itself.

Knowing that it is in their interest to reduce cross-border violence, Messrs. Talabani and Barzani

6/19/2008

recently convinced the PKK to announce a cease-fire and intervened to secure the release of eight Turkish soldiers held captive by the PKK.

They have also targeted the PKK's financing and information infrastructure. The Kurdistan Regional Government stepped up efforts to interdict PKK cash couriers by bolstering security at local airports. Checkpoints have been established around PKK bases in Iraq's Qandil Mountains, monitoring the flow of goods and barring all foreign and local press to stop the PKK from using the media for propaganda. The government closed all official PKK offices and shuttered other Iraqi Kurdish groups, like the Democratic Solution Party, that espouse violence against Turkey.

While the regional government is ready to put pressure on the PKK, it is not ready to confront them militarily. Mr. Barzani, whose forces joined Turkish troops in operations against the PKK twice in the 1990s told me that thousands of his men were "martyred" attacking camps that even Saddam believed were too well fortified to destroy.

While taking practical steps to contain the PKK, the regional government has also tried to foster better relations with Ankara. Iraqi Kurds promised Turkey lucrative business opportunities in the region's oil and gas sector once Iraqi legislation on production sharing agreements with foreign partners has been passed. But Turkey has responded with a cold shoulder, rejecting the offer until the PKK problem has been solved.

Worse, it is threatening economic sanctions against the Kurdistan Regional Government for harboring the PKK. While slowing trade at the Harbur Gate on the Turkey-Iraq border, Ankara is also dragging its feet on an agreement to open a second border crossing to facilitate travel and trade with Iraq. Ankara believes its economic leverage will pressure Iraqi Kurds to confront the PKK. But economic sanctions will also hurt Turkish businesses, which have received the lion's share of reconstruction contracts in Northern Iraq.

Ankara also refuses to have any meaningful diplomatic contact with Iraqi Kurdistan Regional Government officials. Nor has it responded to the Iraqi Kurdish proposal for a summit on regional security cooperation among the U.S., Iraq, Turkey and the regional government.

With winter immobilizing the PKK in its Qandil stronghold, there is a window of opportunity for the United States to use its influence over Turkey and the Iraqi Kurdish leaders to foster trilateral cooperation. Not only is the Kurdistan Regional Government key to solving the PKK problem. Trilateral cooperation is critical for the surge in Iraq, where Iraqi Kurdish units fight side by side with the U.S. military, whose supplies are transported via Turkey.

Instead, the PKK has been able to push the U.S. into the unenviable position of taking sides between Turkey and Iraq's Kurds. No doubt the PKK welcomes Turkey's military action because it fuels Kurdish nationalism and undermines moderates seeking a peaceful solution. And the PKK will surely respond to Turkey's attacks by striking back.

The escalation of this deadly conflict also plays into the hands of Turkey's "deep state" -- a web of military and security officials, the bureaucracy, and corrupt politicians with ties to Mafia types waiting in the wings to reassert their power and privileges. Seeing themselves as the defenders of secularism, these forces are deeply distrustful of the Justice and Development Party's Muslim leadership (AKP), which just moved to lift a ban on wearing head scarves in public universities and arrested ultranationalists suspected of political killings. The "deep state" would surely like to use the resurgent PKK as an excuse to crack down on the AKP, thereby shrinking the space for

democratic participation and radicalizing Turkey's Islamists. This would also reduce Turkey's chances of joining the European Union.

Instead of giving a green light to further Turkish military actions, the Bush administration should intensify its diplomacy to achieve a nonmilitary solution to the PKK problem. The U.S. should encourage the Kurdistan Regional Government to ratchet up pressure on the PKK by arresting its leaders on Interpol's "Most Wanted" list. And Washington should urge Turkey to deepen and accelerate democratic reforms. This needs to be done quickly before a new round of PKK terror attacks sabotage prospects for conciliation and cooperation among the U.S., Turkey and Kurdish leaders in Iraq.

Mr. Phillips is project director of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy and a visiting scholar at Columbia's Center for the Study of Human Rights.

In accordance with the Foreign Agents Registration Act this material is distributed by the American Business Development Group on behalf of the Kurdistan Regional Government. Additional information is available at the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Ayal Frank, Senior Consultant
American Business Development Group
Tel. 703-647-2977
Mobile 202-246-8163
Fax 703-824-0320
www.american-bdg.com

Ayal Frank

From: Ayal Frank

Sent: Friday, February 08, 2008 11:33 AM

Subject: "The Kurdistan Region: Invest in the Future" -- A Publication Launch Invitation

Dear select congressional staff: This is written to invite you to an invitation-only lunch on Monday at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. See attached an invitation and a backgrounder. If you are interested, please RSVP your information to Leila at the chamber and CC me. I hope to see you on Monday. Best regards, Ayal

In accordance with the Foreign Agents Registration Act this material is distributed by the American Business Development Group on behalf of the Kurdistan Regional Government. Additional information is available at the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Ayal Frank, Senior Consultant
American Business Development Group
Tel. 703-647-2977
Mobile 202-246-8163
Fax 703-824-0320
www.american-bdg.com

6/19/2008

Ayal Frank

From: Ayal Frank

Sent: Monday, May 19, 2008 1:56 PM

Subject: Capitol Hill Reception for Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) Prime Minister Barzani

Dear staff - I hope that you will come by to meet KRG prime minister Barzani. The caucus is also an excellent initiative. Best, Ayal

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

KURDISH-AMERICAN CAUCUS INAUGURAL RECEPTION

Honored Guest:

Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani

Iraqi Kurdistan Regional Government

Wednesday, May 21st, 2008; 5:30pm – 6:30pm
Capitol Room HC-7

Dear Colleague:

Earlier this year, during separate trips, we visited the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. The visit to Erbil was refreshing and encouraging for both the United States and Iraq. We believe that the Kurdish Region is a beacon of stability and security in Iraq. Since the beginning of Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF), in 2003, not a single U.S. soldier or civilian contractor has been killed or kidnapped in the areas administered by the Iraqi Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG). Kurds practice a moderate form of Islam that shuns extremism. The people of Iraqi Kurdistan love the United States. They continue to embrace America as liberators. Iraqi Kurdish forces were our most valuable indigenous ally during OIF. A moderate, democratic and stable pro-American ally on the border between Iran, Turkey, and Syria offers both diplomatic opportunities and deterrent effects to regional conflict. The KRG has played, and will continue to play, a constructive role in reducing tensions with Turkey as well. The Kurdistan Region can be a buffer against international conflict. Indeed, it is also a vital ally in protecting U.S. national interests in Iraq and the region as a whole. The Kurdish Region of Iraq is a model of reconstruction success – the majority of villages razed by the regime of Saddam Hussein have been rebuilt; a liberal foreign investment law allows foreign land ownership, tax incentives and easy repatriation of profits, and there are five vibrant universities operating in the region, including the American University of Iraq, based in Suleimaniyah.

The United States should be known as a Nation that stands by her friends. We must ensure that U.S. policy reinforces the hard-earned success of Iraq's Kurds. It is for this reason that we will be forming the Kurdish American Congressional Caucus. This will help our own national interests in Iraq, and it will help our Kurdish friends as well. We hope you will join us as members of this important caucus.

We invite you to come meet Iraqi Kurdistan Regional Government Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani

6/19/2008

next week on Capitol Hill— Wednesday, May 21st at 5:30pm in room HC-7 of the Capitol Building. He is an excellent young leader in the new Iraq and we trust the meeting will provide you with important information concerning current events in the region.

For more information about the caucus and the reception for Prime Minister Barzani, please contact Matt Reel with Rep. Lincoln Davis at matt.reel@mail.house.gov or x56831; or Paul Callahan with Rep. Joe Wilson at paul.callahan@mail.house.gov or x52452.

Lincoln Davis (D-TN-04)
Co-Founder and Co-Chair
Kurdish-American Caucus

Joe Wilson (R-SC-02)
Co-Founder and Co-Chair
Kurdish-American Caucus

Ayal Frank, Senior Consultant
American Business Development Group
Tel. 703-647-2977
Mobile 202-246-8163
Fax 703-824-0320
www.american-bdg.com

In accordance with the Foreign Agents Registration Act this material is distributed by the American Business Development Group on behalf of the Kurdistan Regional Government. Additional information is available at the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Ayal Frank

From: Ayal Frank

Sent: Wednesday, May 21, 2008 12:17 PM

Subject: Reception in honor of Iraqi Kurdistan Regional Government Prime Minister Barzani - Today at 5:30 - Capitol Room HC-7

Dear Senate staff - Today, a reception in the capitol building will be held for KRG prime minister Barzani. The reception also marks the inauguration of the Kurdish American Caucus, by co-founders Lincoln Davis (D-TN) and Joe Wilson (R-SC). See details below. I hope you can stop by. Thanks and best regards, Ayal

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

KURDISH-AMERICAN CAUCUS INAUGURAL RECEPTION

Honored Guest:

Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani

Iraqi Kurdistan Regional Government

Wednesday, May 21st, 2008; 5:30pm – 6:30pm

Capitol Room HC-7

Dear Colleague:

Earlier this year, during separate trips, we visited the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. The visit to Erbil was refreshing and encouraging for both the United States and Iraq. We believe that the Kurdish Region is a beacon of stability and security in Iraq. Since the beginning of Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF), in 2003, not a single U.S. soldier or civilian contractor has been killed or kidnapped in the areas administered by

6/19/2008

the Iraqi Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG). Kurds practice a moderate form of Islam that shuns extremism. The people of Iraqi Kurdistan love the United States. They continue to embrace America as liberators. Iraqi Kurdish forces were our most valuable indigenous ally during OIF. A moderate, democratic and stable pro-American ally on the border between Iran, Turkey, and Syria offers both diplomatic opportunities and deterrent effects to regional conflict. The KRG has played, and will continue to play, a constructive role in reducing tensions with Turkey as well. The Kurdistan Region can be a buffer against international conflict. Indeed, it is also a vital ally in protecting U.S. national interests in Iraq and the region as a whole. The Kurdish Region of Iraq is a model of reconstruction success – the majority of villages razed by the regime of Saddam Hussein have been rebuilt; a liberal foreign investment law allows foreign land ownership, tax incentives and easy repatriation of profits, and there are five vibrant universities operating in the region, including the American University of Iraq, based in Suleimaniyah.

The United States should be known as a Nation that stands by her friends. We must ensure that U.S. policy reinforces the hard-earned success of Iraq's Kurds. It is for this reason that we will be forming the Kurdish American Congressional Caucus. This will help our own national interests in Iraq, and it will help our Kurdish friends as well. We hope you will join us as members of this important caucus.

We invite you to come meet Iraqi Kurdistan Regional Government Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani next week on Capitol Hill – Wednesday, May 21st at 5:30pm in room HC-7 of the Capitol Building. He is an excellent young leader in the new Iraq and we trust the meeting will provide you with important information concerning current events in the region.

For more information about the caucus and the reception for Prime Minister Barzani, please contact Matt Reel with Rep. Lincoln Davis at matt.reel@mail.house.gov or x56831; or Paul Callahan with Rep. Joe Wilson at paul.callahan@mail.house.gov or x52452.

Lincoln Davis (D-TN-04)

Co-Founder and Co-Chair

Kurdish-American Caucus

Joe Wilson (R-SC-02)

Co-Founder and Co-Chair

Kurdish-American Caucus

Ayal Frank, Senior Consultant
American Business Development Group
Tel. 703-647-2977
Mobile 202-246-8163
Fax 703-824-0320
www.american-bdg.com

6/19/2008

In accordance with the Foreign Agents Registration Act this material is distributed by the American Business Development Group on behalf of the Kurdistan Regional Government. Additional information is available at the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.